Ladák they are almost unknown. 000

ECLIPSE--ngeendzin of sun, láandzin of moon. The Ladákis think that a demon eats the sun and moon, and that the poison from his teeth turns the sun or moon black, and thus causes the eclipse. 821

[37]ENTAIL--The law of entail among the Buddhists of Ladák is a peculiar one. When the eldest son of a Buddhist family marries, the property of the parents is divided; a small portion, sufficient for the support of the mother, the several fathers, (i.e., the mother's wedded husband and his younger brothers, who are also her "de facto" husbands), and any unmarried daughters there may be, is made over to the "great father," (i.e., the eldest of the several fathers), for their separate use, the remainder of the property is at once inherited by the eldest son. This process of dividing is called "khángoo khángchhen cho ches," the small portion of the property retained by the parents and sisters is called "khángoo," and that made over to the son is called "khángchhen." When the parents and sisters die or form fresh connections, the "khángoo" comes into the possession of the holder of the "khángchhen." The younger brothers live with their eldest brother, he is obliged to house and feed them and to share his wife with them. They are at liberty to remain with their brother, or to go out into the world, on their own account, whichever they like; but, if once a younger brother leaves the family house for good, he can not claim to return to it. This law of entail can not be set aside, and however badly a son may behave, he can not be disinherited. When the son takes possession of the "khángchhen," all the duties attaching to the family land (zhing) devolve upon him. The state does not recognize the division of the land, and regards him as the owner of the entire holding, and he alone has to pay the [38] land revenue, and supply forced labour, etc., when required by the State. The parents and sisters have no duties to the State to perform. 428 592 595 423 651

If an eldest brother dies, or becomes a Láma, (in which case he cannot marry, unless he renounces his priestly calling,) he drops out of the family circle, and the next brother takes his place. An only son never becomes a Láma, if his parents have ANY PROPERTY. 792

428 592 583 428 591 592 586 597

his parents have any property. If there is no son, then the eldest daughter inherits. She, in consultation with her parents, picks out a husband for herself. Such a husband is termed a "makpa." He is the property of his wife, and his younger brothers cannot claim to share her. The "makpa" has to live on his wife's property. When he marries, the daughter, the latter inherits the "khángchhen," while her parents take the "khángoo." A "makpa" is only one step removed from the "cavaliere serviente," can be turned out at a moment's notice, for no fault, and even the fact of his having children by the woman, does not debar the latter from her right to dismiss him summarily. It is usual for a woman to give a dismissed "makpa" a sheep or a few rupees. If there are no children in a house, then a son is adopted; for particulars in regard to this, see under the heading "adoption" and "husband."

753 EPILEPSY--za. Ladákis think that if the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he, or she, becomes epileptic, but see under "Rainbow".

779 [39]ETERNAL BLISS--deywa chhenmo. The ordinary Ladáki knows little or nothing about the state of "deywa chhenmo" which is apparently very similar to the European idea of "nirvána" or absorption into the Absolute Infinite. Buddhists have no God, according to our ideas, there is therefore no Being into whose Infinity they can be absorbed. They understand "deywa chhenmo" to mean a state of absolute rest and peace--free from all desires and pains, and to be attained only by the spirit of the pious at the conclusion of the period of its re-births or embodiments, in this world.

563 195 EUROPEAN--pheelingpa. This word means literally "people from beyond the ocean," it is, however, applied to all Europeans, whether they come from across the sea or not, e.g., Russians in Siberia would be termed pheelingpa. On the other hand a native of Ceylon would not be termed pheelingpa. The ordinary and more respectful word for a European is the Indian word "Sáhib."

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

brother, whichever of them is in possession of the family property, (see under heading "Entail") must at this season invite all members of the family to assemble at his house for a five days' jollification. For dinner he must give them a pudding, just as we give a Christmas plum-pudding, and when this pudding is put on the table a hole is made in the centre, and into it butter is poured. 796 592

I am told by Dr. Marx of the Moravian Mission, to whom I am indebted for the above account, that this exactly corresponds with the custom still prevailing in Sweden, where butter or oil is poured into the Christmas plum-pudding. 171 796

In England we stick a sprig of holly into the pudding, but the idea is the same--the holly, being an ever green, is symbolical of life, while butter or oil is closely connected with the idea of light which again is closely connected with the idea of life.

During the "Lósir" the Ex-Raja of Ladák is allowed to assume regal dignities, as during the "Dosmóchey." The five days are spent in feasting, dancing, horse-racing and all kinds of merriment. 796 [548]

The "SHoophia" is a kind of harvest festival in honor of the "hla" or "goddess" of the "SHoops" or "ears of corn." It falls about the 7th of August, when the crops are just beginning to ripen. It is celebrated in every village. [241]

The "tsheySHoo" festival is observed in memory of a religious celebrity named "Oorjian Padma Jungnas" who lived in the early days of Tibetan Buddhism. It ought to be kept on the 10th day of every month, but as a "festival" it is as a matter of fact, observed by the people of the country, only once a year, when a great festival takes place at Heymis, the chief monastery of Ladák. This festival which is called the "Heymis TsheySHoo" falls on the 10th day of the 5th month, corresponding to about 7th of June. On the 2nd day of the festival the Heymis monastery is crowded with people who have come from all parts of Ladák, Zangskár, and Changtháng to witness the "devils" dance" performed by Lamas belonging to the Heymis monastery. The dancing of the monks though weird is rather stupid, but their masks are grotesque and their richly embroidered Chinese silk dresses are extremely handsome. 796 536

The Ladákis explain the object of the "devils' dance" by saying

595 428 583 601 [595] If he has only two brothers, they both become the "de facto" husbands of his wife, but if he has more than two brothers, some of them must become Lámas (priests), or must leave the paternal roof, and make their own way in the world, as not more than two brothers can share the wife of their eldest brother. The wife addresses her real husband, that is to say, the eldest brother, who alone has gone through the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage, as "ácho" or in polite language "káGHa," while she calls the two younger brothers "no" or "káGHa chhungan".

601 The "ácho" husband speaks to his wife as "achey," while the "no" husbands speak to her as "nómo." Speaking of the wife, all brothers call her their "áney" or "zhidmat". Another person speaking of this woman and her husbands would describe the woman as being the "zhidmot" (wife), of the góboo (eldest brother) parma (middle brother), and thachhungan (little brother).

586 If the woman has no child by these husbands, other arrangements are made, but see under "Re-marriage".

595 587 According to the Ladák usage, a woman may have 3 brothers as her husbands at the same time, but she cannot (unless divorced) marry another husband while any of these brothers live. After they are all dead, she may marry another man, but as a matter of fact, she never does so, if she has any children.

583 586 A "makpa" is the husband selected by an heiress; he is generally a younger brother of a family of more than 3 brothers, and he is, therefore, glad to be married to a woman who will support him. The "makpa" is the property of his wife she can turn him out whenever she pleases, and call in another "makpa" if so inclined; but as a matter of fact this is seldom done.

478 583 [595] If there are daughters, but no sons in a family, the eldest daughter becomes the heir to the family property, and occupies the position which the eldest son, had there been one, would have held. Instead of being given in marriage, she selects a single husband for herself, or her parents do it for her, and such a husband is called a "makpa." From this custom it may be inferred that the ladies of Ladák do not approve of polyandry, for how, otherwise, can we account for the fact, that while the pauper has several husbands at the same time, the heiress has never more than one.

778 [65]IDOL--skunda or skoo. There is no invidious meaning attached to this word, a Buddhist speaks of his clay god as a "skunda."

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4





Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Amusements.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *saplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of flageolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

Constitution of the family.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



592 Chapter III, B.

184 Social and Religious Life.

104 Constitution of the family.

"*Kang chhopa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son.
"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father.
"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather.*
"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chhopa*. His own son, that is the father, is considered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*=smoke.)" [1]

428 Custom of inheritance in Láhaul.

The custom of primogeniture prevails in the *thákur's* families of Láhaul. On the death of the father the eldest son succeeds. As long as his brothers live with him, they are maintained and called little *thákurs*, but when they set up house for themselves, they get a small allotment of *garkpan*, under the name of *dotoenzing* or younger son's land, upon which they have to maintain themselves. After lapse of two or three generations the descendants of younger sons become like other landholders and have to do some service or pay some rent to the *thákur*. Among the subordinate landholders all sons are considered entitled to equal shares of their father's holding, but in practice they seldom divide, and live on with wife, land, house- and chattels in common. When asked to defend this repulsive, custom of polyandry, they say that their holdings are too small to divide, and that experience shows them that it is impossible for two sisters-in-law, with separate husbands and families, to live together, whereas two or more brothers with a common wife can agree. In Pattan, where the Hindú element prevails in the population, and where the holdings are somewhat larger and more productive, many brothers have married separately, and divided house and lands. A very few have done so in Gárá and Rangloi also. In such families the custom which has hitherto prevailed, with regard to inheritance of the shares of brothers who die without issue, is quite clear; such share has always gone to the brothers with whom the deceased lived in unison, or to his issue, to the exclusion of all claim on the part of the separated branch of the family. The most exceptional point in the custom of inheritance prevailing in Láhaul is the fact that, in default of sons, a daughter succeeds to her father's whole estate in preference to nephews or other male kinsmen, provided that, before her father's death, she has not married and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she succeeds, and if she is unmarried, she can hold for life as a maid, or can at any time marry and take her husband to live with her. Supposing such a husband and wife to die without issue, it appears to be doubtful who would have the best claim to succeed them; whether the next of kin to the wife or to the husband. But it is agreed that the survivor of the two might lawfully give the estate to any member of either of the two families.

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428
184

428 Custom of inheritance in Spiti.

The constitution of the Spiti family has just been described as a system of primogeniture whereby the eldest son succeeds in the lifetime of his father. The working of this system in the case of

* *Kang*, house; big; *chung*, small; *purwalla* (Hindi); *yangwar* or *par*, as in *pardádá* (Hindi), one beyond.

[1 QUOTATION FROM MR. ANDERSON.—ANALYST]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4





proprietory holdings of the first class is described in Section D. In the case of the little plots held by people of the *dotul* class, father and son live on together, as the land is too small to be divided, and there are no responsibilities which the father could transfer with the land to the son. In the same way two or more brothers of this class live on together, often with a wife in common, till one or other, generally the weakest, is forced out to find a subsistence elsewhere. Working for food or wages, and not the plot of land, is the chief source of subsistence to these people. Sometimes the son of a *dotul* becomes a monk, but, as a rule, this profession is confined to the younger sons of the regular landholders, who take to it of necessity, but get as maintenance the produce of a field set aside as *tao* or *tásing* (from *tába*, another word for *lámá*). It is, however, only the second son who is entitled to claim *tásing*, and many do not take it from their elder brothers, and have all in common with him, including their income from begging, funeral fees, &c. This is to the advantage of the elder brother, as a celibate monk's expenses are of course very small. When there are more than two brothers, the younger ones, though they cannot get *tásing*, are considered entitled to some subsistence allowance from the head of the family, but in return they do certain kinds of work for him in the summer, during which season only the elder monks remain in the monasteries. For instance, as long as they are *chambs* or *getsal*, that is, neophytes or deacons, and not *gelong* or fully-ordained monks or priests, they will carry loads and do all field work except ploughing; when *gelong*, they will cook, feed cattle and sheep, and do other domestic services, but not carry loads or cut grass or wood. But "once a monk always a monk" is not the law in Spiti. Supposing the head of a family to die and leave a young widow, with no son or a son of tender age only, then the younger brother, if there is one, almost always elects to leave the monastery, and thereupon he is at once considered his brother's widow's husband. She cannot object, nor is any marriage ceremony necessary. If there was a son by the elder brother, he of course succeeds when of full age, and his mother and uncle retire to the small house, and the other sons, if any, go into the monasteries in the usual way. So, again, if the head of the family has only daughters, and having given up hope of getting a son, wishes to marry one of the daughters and take her husband into the house as a son and heir, it generally happens that the younger brother in the monastery objects, and says that he will leave the priesthood and beget a son. In such case his right to do so is generally allowed: sometimes he will marry a wife to himself, and put his elder brother in the small house; sometimes, by agreement, he will cohabit with his sister-in-law in hope of getting a son by her. A monk who throws off the frock in this way has to pay a fine to his monastery. Many decline to become laymen: this is a rule in the case of those who have attained to the grade of *gelong*. Where the *lámá* brother declines, then it is agreed that in the lower part of the valley (*i.e.*, *kothís* Pín and Sham), the father or widow-mother can take a son-in-law to live in the house and succeed as son and heir, and no kinsmen (if there are any) can object. In the upper part of the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



312 Chapter III, D. Village Communities and Tenures. 423

has for long past been all used up, and the present holdings are therefore all of old standing. There are no Thákurs, in Spiti. The Gialpo or sovereign of Ladákh was the lord from whom in theory all held. The general rights of the State and the landholders in both waste and arable lands are the same as in the *Khálsa kothís* of Láhaul. There are 296 *jeolas* in Spiti, with an average area of about 5 acres. There are no *dang piri* or irrigated grass fields, as in Láhaul. All the men of the village graze and cut grass in common. A kind of thistle and wild gram or chick-pea are cut and stored for winter use.

425 Right of sale and mortgage.

No instance can be quoted of a landholder having sold the whole or a large part of his holding; but the custom of selling small portions is said to be ancient. The general idea seems to be that no one could question the validity of the sale of a whole holding, except the son or next heir. Two kinds of mortgage are in vogue. By one [426] the land is made over to the mortgagee in lieu of interest till payment of the principal; in the other it is made over for a fixed term, on the calculation that the debt to the mortgagee will be liquidated in full within that time by the produce. The mortgagee ploughs, sows, and reaps, but the mortgagor manages the irrigation, and gets the straw for his trouble. Such a thing as an absolute gift of land appears to be unknown, and the general opinion seems to be that no man can give away land to the prejudice of his children, or that if he did do so, the gift ought to be treated as invalid unless they had grievously misbehaved. It seems the general opinion [428] that in future a man ought to be allowed to give away his estate in the absence of any children or brothers or near kinsmen. Formerly the State would have interfered and put forward a claim. It is even now allowed that, in default of heirs or gift, the estate would lapse to the State; but our Government has hitherto not looked after its rights in this respect, and one or two instances have occurred of such estates being appropriated in late years by the landholders of the village and granted by them to some new man for a sum of money down, which they divided among themselves.

423 592 Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

The great mass of the arable land consists of the holdings of the *talfás* or revenue-payers, which are each separate estates of the nature of household allotments. Within these estates the following occupants may be found:—Firstly, in each there is the *káng chimpá* (great house) or head of the family, who is primarily responsible for the revenue, the *begár* or forced labour, and the share of common expenses demandable on the whole holding. He is the [429] eldest son, for primogeniture prevails, but it does not follow that his father must be dead, for by custom of the country the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age and has taken unto himself a wife. There are cases in [591] which father and son agree to live on together in one house, but they are very rare. On each estate there is a kind of dower house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there, he is called the *káng chungpá* (small houseman). The amount of land attached differs on different estates; 423 651 where it is big, the *káng chungpá* pays a sum of cash, or cash and

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



Chapter III, D.

Village Communities and Tenures.

Distribution of fields comprised in an ordinary holding or household allotment in Spiti.

grain, about equal to its rateable assessment; but where it is small, as is usually the case, he pays a small cash fee only, which is really rather a hearth-tax than a share of the land-revenue, to which, however, it is credited in collection. The *káng chungpá* is not liable for any share of common expenses (a heavy charge in Spiti,) nor for performance of *begár* or forced labour. On occasions of a great demand for men to do some work near the village he may be impressed, but the principle is that he is free. Sometimes, in the absence of a living father, the widowed mother, or the grand-father, or an uncle, aunt, or unmarried sister, occupies the small house and land on the same terms. A *yáng chungpá* is the term used to describe a person living on an estate in a separate house of lower degree than that of the *káng chungpá*. Such a person is always some relation of the head of the family; he may be the grand-father who has been pushed out of the small house by the retirement of his own son, the father, but it is commoner to find unmarried sisters, aunts, or their illegitimate offspring in this position.*

A small plot of land is generally attached to the house, and a few annas of revenue paid, but rather as a hearth-tax on account of grass, wood, water, &c., than as the share of the land-tax on the plot held. In proof of this some *yáng chungpás* have no land attached to the house, but pay like the others. Most of these people would be entitled to some maintenance from the head of the family if he did not give them a plot of land. They are not liable to be impressed for ordinary *begár*, but must help on occasions of great demand near home. They often do distant *begár*, however, in place of the head of the family by mutual agreement. On many holdings another class of people are found living in a dependent position towards the *káng chimpá* or head of the family. They have a small house to themselves, with or without a patch of land attached; generally they pay an anna or two to revenue, whether they hold land or not. In fact in this respect, and with regard to liability to *begár*, they are much on the same footing as the *yáng chungpá*; the fundamental difference is that they are not related to the head of the family, and have got their house or house and land, not with reference to any claim to maintenance, but out of favour, or for the mutual benefit of both parties. They are, therefore, expected to do a great deal of field work for him. People of this class are called *dotul*, literally smoke-makers, because they have a hearth to themselves, but no other interest in the land. To mark the fact that they hold of one particular landholder, the word *ránki*, meaning private or particular, is added. All the land held by the *káng chungpá* and by *yáng chungpás* and *ránki dotuls*, pertains to the holding or allotment, cannot be alienated, and lapses to the *káng chimpá*. The latter could not of course evict a *káng chungpá*, and the general feeling is that when he has once given a plot to a *yáng chungpá*, he could not resume it, except with consent; but he could resume from a *ránki*

* In Pin *kothí* the *bezas* families, who are the descendants of monks of an order in which marriage is permissible, commonly hold a house and small plot from the family from which they sprung, and are in the position of *yáng chungpás*.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4



425 Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures.

651

*dotul*, and would be considered quite justified in so doing on the grounds of customary service not having been properly performed.* The rules of inheritance in *dotul* holdings have been described in Section B of this Chapter (page 96.)

423

In most holdings also a plot of from one to half a *khal* will be found in the occupation of the *lámá* brother or uncle of the head of the family. It is ploughed and sown by the latter, but the *lámá* provides the seed and gets the whole produce. There are *lámás* in almost every family, as all younger sons of the landholders are forced by custom to enter the monasteries. This maintenance land of a *lámá* is called *táo* or *tázing*, and reverts of course to the head of the family on the death of the *lámá*.

592

792

423

Holdings or allotments other than those of the *talfá* or revenue-paying landholders (Spiti).

There are some fields at Dankar attached to the old fort there, which are like it the property of Government. The *Nono*, in virtue of his office, provides for the cultivation of the fields, and takes the produce. He is bound in return to keep the fort in repair. The *Nono* also holds other lands equal to several ordinary holdings in extent, which are his ancestral property; they are rent-free, and are mostly situated at Kuiling, where he resides. The Pín *Nono* also has rent-free land, but not more than equal to an ordinary holding in extent. At a place called Táshigong, a family of hereditary astrologers (*choba*) hold two allotments granted to them by the kings of Ladákh free of demand for revenue or *begár*.† Four families of blacksmiths also hold a rather small allotment apiece, and pay only a hearth-tax, not full revenue. The above are all independent estates of the same grade as those of the revenue-paying landholders, and inherited in the same way by the eldest son.

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[651]

Fields excluded from the regular household allotment.

There are two families who, in addition to their revenue-paying allotments, also hold good-sized plots rent-free under the name of *manzing*; they are *umchie* or hereditary practisers of the art of medicine, and this land was granted to them in support of the art. The general opinion is that if they abandon the art, the *manzing* or physician's field could be taken from them and transferred to another. Many of the landholders practise medicine, but only these two families hold *manzing*. Certain fields are the full property of the monasteries: they pay no revenue, and are generally either near the monastery to which they belong, or in adjacent villages. The lands of the Dankar monastery is cultivated by six tenants, land-holders in Dankar, who pay half produce as rent; that of the Pín monastery is cultivated gratuitously by the *Nono* of Pín; the men of Chuzi *kothí*, as the special clients of the monks, cultivate the lands of the other monasteries, but the monks are expected to give the men who actually do the work something for their trouble. In many villages there are one or two fields known as *Lhaziug* or God-

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* He could resume the plot of land, but apparently he could not always evict from the house, as that has sometimes been built by the *dotul* himself.

† The phraseology of the deed of grant is curious. It is drawn up and attested by officials with high sounding titles, singed and sealed at 'our palace,' &c., and promises that the grant shall endure till the feathers of the raven turn white and the snow on the mountains black.

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857 that they have two heads, but the explana-
291 tion is that they generally carry a younger
[855] brother or sister on their back because the
[512] mother is at work in the house and cannot look after them.

212 It is a fact that all Tibetans are literate,
857 men and women alike. Whatever class
779 they belong to, between the ages of 8 and
871 12 they have to go to the monastery to learn the Buddhist religion, learning to read and write at the same time. This gives these people a very high standard of culture.

595 The first thing to grasp in Tibetan
428 polyandry is that the Tibetans are very
183 keen to keep the property together. The
592 country is poor, and they feel that if the property is divided among several heirs there will not be enough to go around. They not only wish to keep the property intact but also to maintain the family name to this property. Thus, when a certain number of brothers, let us say, three, inherit the property and the house, they do not divide it among themselves but, marrying one woman as they do, they share not only the property but also the woman as a common wife, as well as the children which belong to all of them together. It is a kind of family communism, and certainly prevents division of the property.

595 Thus, the usual type of marriage is that
428 a number of brothers marry one woman
[601] and keep the property. This is called a *bagma* marriage in Tibetan. However, if
581 there are only girls in the family, what
592 usually happens is that the younger girls go off and marry into other families, individually becoming the common wives of a number of brothers. They thus perform the regular *bagma* marriage. The eldest daughter, however, since she has no brothers, inherits both the name and property from her fathers and and is allowed to marry as many husbands as she wishes. These husbands and the children, too, take her name, so that, in this way, the children which issue from the marriage take on the mother's name and inherit the property undivided, and again make regular *bagma*

595 marriages. The woman's marriage, in this
[601] case, is known as a *magpa* marriage. It
428 differs from the *bagma* marriage in that
581 the woman is head of the family. The
592 husbands are married to her and she can
do exactly as she wants with them.

595 The most important point to grasp in
126 polyandry is that the house is the axis
592 around which the system functions. In
taking down genealogical notes I have,
therefore, always given the family the
name of the house.

595 A specialized case I came across was
583 that of an only son of the house called
428 Tsungarpa who married one woman,
the heiress to the Bata house (see FIGURE
1). 1 All her brothers were dead, so that

1: P. 213c FIGURE 1

To 220a
595 second brother had also left, when he ran
422 away in a huff, with one-third plus two of
592 the buffalo, which he now merged again with the third brother's, so that two-thirds of the original buffalo (minus two which went with the first brother) again became the common property of these two brothers. They thus had one wife and later shared the two children born of the marriage, a girl, Marzin, born shortly after the polyandrous marriage, and a boy, Montoï, of whom the mother told me that she did not know which of the two was his father, and that she had no preference, because she was a good polyandrous wife to both.

To 595 WTi 595 [592] The Todas do not practice polygyny as the Tibetans do. They were shocked that I should even mention it. Brothers who have left the house (like the first one in the above example) are not allowed to return with some other wife and share her with their brothers. This is never practised and, even when a brother leaves, he is only given one chance to come back alone to the family fold. Should he do it a second time, he is turned out of the house and the brother

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[ For information on polyandrous households see category 595. ]